

Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 11882 030941Z

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E.O. 11652: XGDS (1)

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DRAFTING GROUP MEETING NO. 232,

AUGUST 1, 1978 (SALT TWO 1830)

SUMMARY. OKUN PRESSED FOR SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF US PROPOSAL FOR THIRD SECTION OF JOINT STATEMENT, AND QUESTIONED SOVIET PLACEMENT IN FOOTNOTE OF GENERALIZED LANGUAGE FOR SECTION THREE. SMOLIN POSED SEVERAL QUESTIONS ON US PROPOSALS FOR JOINT STATEMENT AND DEFENDED SOVIET POSITION ON WARHEAD AGGREGATE REDUCTION, SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS, AND "ALL RELEVANT FACTORS" LANGUAGE. SOVIETS EXPRESSED READINESS TO RELOCATE GENERALIZED LANGUAGE FOR SECTION THREE FROM FOOTNOTE TO TEXT PROPER, AND HANDED OVER NEW FORMULATION FOR SECTIONS TWO AND FOUR. END SUMMARY.

1. OKUN REMINDED SOVIETS THEIR FEBRUARY 8 PROPOSAL FOR DETAILED THIRD SECTION OF JOINT STATEMENT REMAINED ON TABLE. ALTHOUGH THERE WAS SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENT ON MUCH OF EACH SIDE'S GENERALIZED PROPOSALS, SOVIET GENERALIZED TEXT WAS INCLUDED ONLY AS FOOTNOTE IN JDT. OKUN

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 11882 030941Z

CRITICIZED SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR REDUCTION IN NUCLEAR WARHEAD AGGREGATE AS NOT IN KEEPING WITH GENERALIZED NATURE OF OTHER OBJECTIVES, AND DESCRIBED SOVIET "ALL RELEVANT FACTORS" LANGUAGE AS REDUNDANT IN VIEW OF AGREED REFERENCE TO STRENGTHENING STRATEGIC STABILITY IN FIRST AND FOURTH SECTIONS OF JOINT STATEMENT. OKUN ALSO SPOKE IN FAVOR OF US OBJECTIVE OF FURTHER RESTRICTIONS ON STRATEGIC

DEFENSIVE ARMS.

2. SMOLIN ASKED ABOUT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "SIGNIFICANT" AND "SUBSTANTIAL" IN THIRD SECTION, TO WHICH OKUN REPLIED

TERMS WERE COMPLEMENTARY BUT "SIGNIFICANT" ADDED EMPHASIS TO OBJECTIVE. SMOLIN ALSO RESPONDED TO US CRITICISM OF SOVIET NUCLEAR WARHEAD PROPOSAL, CLAIMING HE SAW NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GENERAL GOAL OF REDUCTION IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND GOAL OF REDUCTION OF AGGREGATE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS. OKUN REFUTED SMOLIN'S ARGUMENT, OBSERVING THAT THERE WAS A LARGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TRULY GENERALIZED GOAL AND SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO SINGLE ELEMENT SUCH AS NUCLEAR WARHEADS. MCNEILL ADDED THAT US HAD ADOPTED SUBSTANCE OF SOVIET-PROPOSED "FREE TO RAISE" LANGUAGE IN SECTION 4 IN ORDER TO ADDRESS THIS VERY PROBLEM, AND BELIEVED IT SHOULD SATISFY SOVIET CONCERNS.

3. AFTER SPEAKING BRIEFLY IN FAVOR OF SPECIFIC SOVIET REFERENCE TO QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS IN THIRD SECTION, SMOLIN DELIVERED LONG DEFENSE OF "TAKING INTO ACCOUNT" LANGUAGE, STATING THAT WITHOUT TAKING "ALL RELEVANT FACTORS" INTO ACCOUNT, NO CURRENT ARMS LIMITATION WOULD BE POSSIBLE, AND THIS WOULD REMAIN TRUE FOR FUTURE AGREEMENTS AS WELL. SMOLIN EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER MOVING
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 11882 030941Z

SOVIET-PROPOSED GENERALIZED THIRD SECTION OUT OF FOOTNOTE AND INTO JDT VICE CURRENT, MORE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE.

4. SMOLIN TABLED REVISED PROPOSALS FOR SECOND AND FOURTH SECTIONS OF DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. OFFICIAL TRANSLATIONS FOLLOW:

SECOND. FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS MUST BE SUBJECT TO ADEQUATE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS AND, ADDITIONALLY, WHEN NECESSARY THE PARTIES WILL TAKE COOPERATIVE MEASURES CONTRIBUTING TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SUCH VERIFICATION. THE PARTIES WILL SEEK TO STRENGTHEN VERIFICATION AND TO PERFECT THE OPERATION OF THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION IN ORDER TO PROMOTE ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY THE PARTIES.

FOURTH. THE PARTIES WILL CONSIDER OTHER STEPS TO ENSURE AND ENHANCE STRATEGIC STABILITY, TO ENSURE THE EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY OF THE PARTIES, AND TO IMPLEMENT THE ABOVE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES. EACH PARTY WILL BE FREE TO RAISE ANY ISSUE RELATIVE TO THE FURTHER

LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THE PARTIES WILL
ALSO CONSIDER FURTHER JOINT MEASURES, AS APPROPRIATE,
TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND TO
REDUCE THE RISK OF OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR.

5. NEXT MEETING FRIDAY, AUGUST 4. EARLE

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